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ABSTRACT

Ways in which negation varies in two dialects of French, called "standard" and "colloquial" are investigated. The two dialects under consideration are representative of an extensive scale of styles, often overlapping and varying according to social status, education, contextual situation, age, and geographical area. Although the great majority of speakers control both dialect, which they use in different contextual situations, there are some speakers who control only one dialect. Through an analysis of examples, it is concluded that with respect to negation, the colloquial dialect is simpler because it lacks three processes present in the standard dialect: 1) "ne"-insertion, 2) negative-deletion, and 3) "ne"-deletion. The general tendency of the colloquial dialect to omit rules referring to deletion under identity is also shown. A list of references completes the paper. (Author/PP)

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Negation and Dialect Variation in French

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I. This paper investigates how negation varies in two dialects of French, which I call 'standard' and 'colloquial', and which are fairly representative of a spectrum of idiolects.[1]

My analysis of these two dialects is based on such sentence-types as:[2]

Standard	Colloquial
Ia–Je ne veux pas ce livre. (I don't want this book)	Ib–Je veux pas ce livre.
2a–Je ne veux rien. (I don't want anything.)	2b–Je veux rien.
3a–Personne ne vient. (Nobody is coming)	3b–Personne vient.
4a–Personne ne veut rien. (Nobody wants anything)	4b–Personne veut rien.
5a–Je crois que personne ne viendra. (I believe that nobody will come)	5b–Je crois que personne viendra.
5b–Je ne crois pas que quiconque vienne. (I don't think that anybody will come.)	5d–Je crois pas que personne viendra.

Assuming that the negative universal quantifiers rien, 'nothing' and personne, 'nobody' can be interpreted as the lexical realization of the sequence negative particle pas plus an indefinite, such as quelque chose, 'something'; quelqu'un or quiconque 'someone', sentences (I)-(5) reveal that:

(a) The two dialects under consideration are similar in that, in simple sentences, the negative particle pas is obligatorily attracted to the indefinite(s), if any, as in (2), (3), (4), or, if there is no indefinite, to the verb as in (I).

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(b) The two dialects differ in the following two ways:
First, in the standard dialect (henceforth Dialect S) the negative particle pas optionally combines with the indefinite, as in (5a) or with the verb as in (5c), but only a single negative particle can occur in any complex sentence. In the colloquial dialect (henceforth Dialect C) multiple syntactic negation occurs as shown in (5d).
Second, these dialects differ with respect to the use of the particle ne: in Dialect S, ne always occur, whereas in dialect C it never does.
It will be argued here that a proper characterization of this dialectal variation must specify that the two dialects concerned differ in the number of rules which they have. In particular, Dialect S has a negative deletion rule which Dialect C does not have.
I will try to provide independent support for this analysis by showing that the negative deletion rule follows from a general deletion process of Dialect S which appears in such rules as Dislocation, Topicalization and Equi. It is this general deletion process that accounts for the absence of any extra-occurrence of ne in complex sentences in Dialect S. On the contrary, Dialect C consistently fails to delete the lower occurrence of an identical constituent.

2.0. The two dialects which I distinguish here as standard-or careful speech- and colloquial-or vernacular- are representative of an extensive scale of styles, often overlapping and varying according to social status, education, contextual situation, age and geographical area. Although the great majority of speakers control both dialects, which they use in different contextual situations, there are some speakers who control only one dialect. Following Labov (1971), I will use the terms 'superordinate' and 'subordinate' to refer

to such groups. The superordinate population uses only a normative speech which reflects social prestige, and therefore controls only Dialect S in any situation. The subordinate population, including children and lower classes, has access to Dialect C only. I will use the term 'ordinate' to refer to all the other speakers who use both dialects.

The following chart illustrates the distribution of the two dialects considered here:

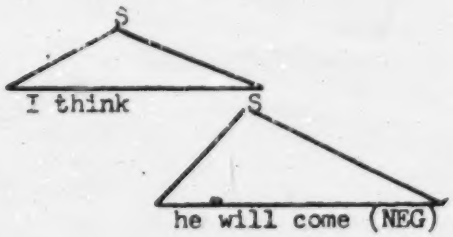
Class	Dialects	
	Standard	Colloquial
Superordinate	xx	
Ordinate	xx	xx
Subordinate		xx

2.1. C. Fillmore (1963), R. Lakoff (1969), G. Lakoff (1970), G. Carden (1971) have noticed that sentences like (6a) and (6b) are synonymous.[3]

(6a)-I don't think he will come.
(6b)-I think he won't come.

They have proposed that the structure underlying these sentences is (6c) where the negative originates in the embedded clause:

(6c)



Some evidence supporting this analysis involves such adverbials as until in English, which can only occur when a negative is present, as shown in (7a) and (7b):

(7a)-I said that John wouldn't leave until tomorrow.
*(7b)-I said that John would leave until tomorrow.

The same is true in French, not with the counterpart of until, but with similar adverbials like moindre 'least', as shown in (8a) and (8b):

(8a)-Je ne crois pas qu'il ait la moindre chance de réussir.
(I don't think he has any chance to succeed.)
*(8b)-Je crois qu'il a la moindre chance de réussir.

Since, in addition, French also has sentences like (6a) and (6b)—e.g. (5a) and (5c)—I am assuming that the structure underlying such sentences in French is similar to (6c).

Given an underlying structure like (6c), with the negative in the embedded S, I will then account for the repositioning of this negative into the upper S in two steps: a negative-copy rule will copy the NEG into the upper S, and a negative-deletion rule will delete the original of the copied NEG. This analysis will allow me to capture the difference between the two dialects of French under consideration.

2.2. Before discussing in detail the negative rules mentioned in 2.1., it is necessary to determine the form of the negative constituent in French. It has been previously assumed (Ruwet, 1967) that the negative should be represented by the continuous morphemes ne+pas, in deep structure, and that some later rules effect the proper placement of these morphemes in surface structure. But I claim that the only morpheme possessing negative meaning is pas,[4] and that therefore, ne has no semantic value whatsoever. I offer the following evidence in support of this claim:

First, consider sentences (I) to (5); it is clear that the (b) sentences in Dialect C convey the same meaning as the (a) sentences in Dialect S, but without using the particle ne. Second, the empty semantic value of ne seems to be further confirmed by the fact that, to a sentence such as (9c) in Dialect C typically correspond two sentences (9a) and (b) in Dialect S, in which ne has two different positions without affecting the meaning in any way.

Dialect S: (9a)–Je veux ne rien faire.
(9b)–Je ne veux rien faire.
Dialect C: (9c)–Je veux rien faire.
(I don't want to do anything.)

Finally, further support for my claim that ne has no negative value is provided by the existence of 'expletive ne' in Dialect S. As shown in (10a) ne has no negative value in this case, as opposed to (11a) which has a negative value but contains pas.

Dialect S (10a)–Je crains qu'il ne vienne.
Dialect C (10b)–Je crains qu'il vienne.
(I am afraid that he will come.)

Dialect S (11a)–Je crains qu'il ne vienne pas.
Dialect C (11b)–Je crains qu'il vienne pas.
(I am afraid that he won't come.)

It may be noted that 'expletive ne' as shown in (10a) occurs after a limited class of verbs (craindre, avoir peur; to fear) and certain conjunctions (à moins que, avant que..)[5]

This restricted set of data suggests that there is a ne-insertion rule and that this rule is triggered by the presence of a negative element in the underlying structure. If the negative element is removed by Lexical Insertion as in (10a), ne remains as a syntactic reflex of the underlying negative (See Footnote 5). This treatment emphasizes that a semantic value is never assigned to ne.

The rule which inserts ne exists only in Dialect S, presumably as a relic of the Old French negative morpheme ne and can be formulated as (12):

(12) Ne-Insertion (only in Dialect S):

$$(X, V, NEG)_S \longrightarrow (X, (NE, V)\ NEG)_S$$

Rule (12) introduces a ne as a sister constituent to the verb whenever there are structures containing a NEG. In this and subsequent rules, commas are used to signify that the constituents in question are unordered and late letters of the alphabet like X are used as variables: they stand for any representation that is not directly relevant to the changes effected by this rule. It now remains to ensure the proper placement of NEG in the sentence.

2.3. I will now show that the rule of Negative-Attraction (given in (13)) accounts for all negative sentences in both dialects, whether they contain indefinites or not.

(13) Negative-Attraction: (in Dialects S and C)

(A) $(X, V, [Indef], NEG)_S \longrightarrow (X, V, ([Indef], NEG))_S$

(B) $(X, V, NEG)_S \longrightarrow (X, (V, NEG))_S$

Notice that the two subrules will have to apply disjunctively, and that once again the order of the constituents is not necessary.[6]

The correct application of the two subrules (A) and (B) is determined either by an ordering constraint, or simply by the formal properties of Negative-Attraction, as specified by the following universal principle of proper inclusion precedence proposed by Sanders (1970):

(14) Proper Inclusion Precedence:

> For any representation R, which meets the structural descriptions of each of two rules A and B, A takes applicational precedence over B if and only if the structural description of A properly includes the structural description of B.[7]

Subrule (A) properly includes subrule (B). Therefore the principle of proper inclusion precedence, predicts that, whenever a representation includes an indefinite, thereby meeting the structural descriptions of both subrules, subrule (a) will apply first. If a representation does not include any indefinites, then only subrule (B) will be applicable. Subrule (A) simply places NEG in a single constituent bracket with the indefinite; whenever this rule applies, lexical insertion will follow and sentences like (2), (3), and (4) will be derived. If a representation des not include any indefinites, subrule (B) will apply to group NEG with the verb; in this case NEG will be realized as "pas" and sentences like (1) will be derived.

This analysis captures in a single step the identical negative attraction process which occurs with subject as well as object indefinites, as shown in (2), (3) and (4) in both dialects (repeated here for convenience):[8]

(2a)-Je ne veux rien.	(2b)-Je veux rien.
(3a)-Personne ne vient.	(3b)-Personne vient.
(4a)-Personne ne veut rien.	(4b)-Personne veut rien.

Both Ne-Insertion and Negative-Attraction can apply in Dialect S, in contrast to Dialect C where only Negative-Attraction can apply. If extrinsic ordering is assumed, these two rules can be ordered in either sequence: Ne-Insertion before Negative-Attraction or vice-versa. In an unordered rule hypothesis, such as the one proposed by Koutsoudas, Sanders and Noll (1974), 7, whereby the rules are allowed to apply whenever their structural descriptions is met,

Ne-Insertion and Negative-Attraction would apply simultaneously, and derive the correct output. Whether these rules are extrinsically ordered or not, it is imperative that in this analysis Ne-Insertion and Negative-Attraction be prelexical transformations in McCawley's sense: Lexical Insertion must apply after NEG has been attached to the quantifier in order to derive rien, or personne.[9]

Up to this point, it has been shown that corresponding simple negative sentences in Dialects S and C can be accounted for by assuming that both dialects have the same Negative-Attraction rule, but that only Dialect S has a Ne-Insertion rule. Formally, in other words, these dialects differ in the number of rules required to derive simple negative sentences.

2.4. The difference between Dialects S and C with regard to complex negative sentences can also be formally characterized as a difference in the number of rules required to derive such sentences. Dialect S seems to have a negative-raising process as illustrated by the following pair of synonymous sentences:

(5a)–Je crois que personne ne viendra.
(5c)–Je ne crois pas que quiconque vienne.

NEG can either remain in the embedded clause where it originates and be attached to the indefinite to produce (5a); or it can be moved into the upper sentence, before lexical insertion, and be attached to the verb to produce (5c). In contrast, in Dialect C, the following pair of synonymous sentences obtains:

(5b)–Je crois que personne viendra.
(5d)–Je crois pas que personne viendra.

Sentences like (5d)—which are substandard—demonstrate that instead of a negative raising process there is multiple negation in Dialect C.

To account for the similarity and difference these dialects exhibit with

respect to sentences like (5), I propose a Negative-Copy rule which copies a NEG into the matrix sentence, placing it in its normal position after the verb and attaching it to an indefinite if one is present as is the case with the 4 synonymous sentences in (15):

-S- (15a)-Tous croient que Jean ne fera rien de bon.
-S- (15c)-Personne ne croit que Jean fasse quoi que ce soit de bon.
-C- (15b)-Tous croient que Jean fera rien de bon.
-C- (15d)-Personne croit que Jean fera rien de bon.
(Nobody believes that John will do anything good)

The similarity between the two dialects is captured by claiming that both dialects have this Negative-Copy rule:

(16) Negative-Copy (in Dialects S and C)

$$(X\ (NEG,\ Y)_S\ )_S \longrightarrow (X,\ NEG\ (NEG,\ Y)_S\ )_S$$

The difference between Dialects S and C would then be captured by the hypothesis that the original NEG is deleted, as in (5c) and (15c) in Dialect S, but not, as in (5d) and (15d) in Dialect C. Dialect S has therefore an additional Negative-deletion rule (17), which Dialect C fails to have.

(17) Negative-deletion (in Dialect S only)

$$(X,\ NEG\ (NEG,\ Y)_S\ )_S \longrightarrow (X,\ NEG\ (Y)_S\ )_S$$

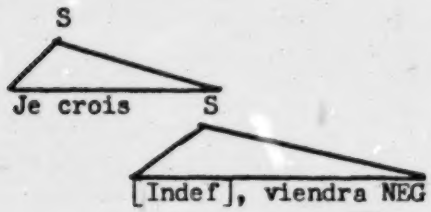
To derive sentences like (5c), a Ne-Deletion rule (18) is now needed to delete the lower occurrence of the particle ne:

(18) Ne-deletion (in Dialect S only)

$$(X,\ NE\ (Y,\ NE)_S\ )_S \longrightarrow (X,\ NE\ (Y)_S\ )_S$$ [10]

As an example, let's see how the sentences in (5) are derived. The structure underlying all variants of (5) is (19):

(19) (Je, crois ([Indef], viendra, NEG)$_S$)$_S$



(5a) is derived from (19) by the application of Negative-Attraction and Ne-Insertion on the lower sentence. The upper sentence is not affected. To derive (5c): on the lower sentence Negative-Attraction and Ne-Insertion apply. Then on the upper sentence, Negative Copy and Ne-Insertion apply again, then Negative-Deletion which deletes under identity the lower occurrence of NEG; finally Ne-Deletion also deletes under identity the lower occurrence of ne. Now in Dialect C, (5b) is derived from (19) by the mere application of Negative-Attraction, whereas, in order to get (5d) both the applications of Negative-Attraction and Negative Copy are required, Negative-Attraction on the lower sentence, and Negative Copy on the upper sentence. The derivation stops here, since this dialect does not have either a Ne-Insertion rule, a Ne-Deletion rule, or a Negative-Deletion rule.

In sum, it has been argued that a formal characterization of Dialects S and C can be effected entirely in terms of the number of rules these dialects require to derive negative sentences of the type given in section (1). Specifically, it has been shown that Dialect C can be formally differentiated from Dialect S in that the former requires a smaller number of rules than the latter to derive the sentence-types shown in (1)-(5). The rules required by each dialect are summarized as follows:

Dialect S	Dialect C
Negative-attraction (Obligatory)	Negative-attraction (Obl)
Ne-insertion (Obligatory)	———
Negative-copy (Optional)	Negative-copy (Opt)
Negative-deletion (Obligatory if NC has applied)	———
Ne-deletion (Obligatory)	———

3.0. I will argue now that the negative distribution in the two dialects of French under consideration follows from a more general process, namely a deletion process which is independently motivated by other syntactic rules. By looking at the formal statements of Negative-deletion and Ne-deletion—(17) and (18) respectively—, it appears that these two rules are merely subrules of a general deletion process which tends to delete lower identical occurrences of a given constituent, in the standard, but not in the colloquial dialect. This general deletion rule might be formulated in (20):

(20) General deletion:

$$(X, Y\ (W, Y)_S\ )_S \longrightarrow (X, Y\ (W)_S\ )_S$$

I will now provide in support of my claim a number of other deletion rules which can also be subsumed under the general formulation (20) and apply only—or mostly—in Dialect S, like Negative-deletion and Ne-deletion.

3.1. An interesting connection can be made between the general deletion rule (20) and two other syntactic rules: Dislocation and Topicalization. Dislocation is a rule which relates sentences like (a) and (b):

(a) I like beans.

(b) Beans, I like them.

Dislocation, whether Left or Right, is a rule which has a wide application in French, and much more in Dialect C than in Dialect S. Left Dislocation

is said to move some NP in sentence-initial position, while leaving behind a pronominalized reflex of this NP. If this pronominalized reflex is an object, it is moved before the verb, as illustrated in sentences (21a) and (21b) derived from (21) and in (22a) derived from (22):

(21) -J'adore Jérôme Bosch.
(I love Jérôme Bosch)

(21a)-Jérôme Bosch, je l'adore.

(21b)-Moi, j'adore Jérôme Bosch.

(22) -Ma mère a dit qu'il ne faut pas mentir.
(My mother said that I shouldn't lie)

(22a)-Ma mère, elle a dit qu'il faut pas mentir.

Right Dislocation is said to operate exactly like Left Dislocation except that the concerned NP is moved to the extreme right of the sentence:

(21c)-Je l'adore, Jérôme Bosch.

(21d)-J'adore Jérôme Bosch, moi.

(22c)-Elle a dit, ma mère, qu'il faut pas mentir.

(22d)-Elle a dit qu'il faut pas mentir, ma mère.

Both Right and Left Dislocation can apply together, mostly in Dialect C, as shown in the following sentences, all optionally derived from (23).

(23) -Jean a dit qu'il fallait aller voir ce film.
(John said that we should see this movie.)

(23a)-Ce film, Jean, il a dit qu'il fallait aller le voir.

(23b)-Jean, il a dit qu'il fallait aller le voir, ce film.

(23c)-Il a dit, Jean, que ce film, il fallait aller le voir.

On the other hand, Topicalization is a rule that relates sentences (a) and (c):

(a) I like beans.

(c) Beans, I like.

In contrast to Dislocation, Topicalization applies much less frequently in French. Its application is very limited, actually mostly restricted to emphatic, rhetoric contexts and in any case, to the standard dialect. For example, topicalization relates (21) to (21e):

(21) -J'adore Jérôme Bosch.

(21e)-Jérôme Bosch, j'adore.

Dislocation and Topicalization are similar in that they both involve an apparent movement of some NP. However, they differ in one important respect, e.g. in the case of Dislocation only, the 'moved' NP has left a pronominalized reflex. The similarities and differences of Dislocation and Topicalization are reflected in Ross's rules (1968):

(24) Topicalization:

$$\begin{array}{lccc} & X & - & NP & - & Y \\ & 1 & & 2 & & 3 \\ 2\# & [1 & & \emptyset & & 3] \end{array} \Longrightarrow$$

(25) Left Dislocation:

$$\begin{array}{lccc} & X & - & NP & - & Y \\ & 1 & & 2 & & 3 \\ 2\# & [1 & & \emptyset & & 3] \\ & & & [+Pro] & & \end{array} \longrightarrow$$

Ross formulates Right Dislocation as a separate rule. However, since Left and Right Dislocation perform essentially the same operations, and observe the same constraints it seems that a single mirror-image rule would more adequately capture the similarity inherent in them.

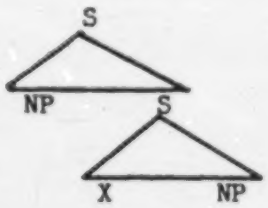
Clearly, however, incorporating Ross's rules of Topicalization and Dislocation into a grammar of French would make it very difficult—if not impossible—to explain in a single and general way the variations observed in the two dialects under discussion, and in particular, why topicalization is mostly restricted to Dialect S, while dislocation is restricted to Dialect C. Towards this end, I propose that, instead of Ross's rules, French has the following NP-copy rule: in which the constituents are unordered.

(26) NP-Copy (in Dialects S and C):

$$(X, NP)_S \longrightarrow (NP\# (X, NP)_S)_S$$

Rule (26) states that an NP is copied, not 'moved', either in sentence-final or sentence-initial position. The copied NP is attached by Chomsky-Adjunction, thereby creating a new S-node as shown below:

(27)



Rule (26) thus performs the operations effected by Ross's Left Dislocation (25) as well as by Right Dislocation. In addition NP-Copy performs the first step of Topicalization (24). I now claim that, once rule (26) has applied to a given representation, the original (or lower) NP can be either pronominalized or deleted. If it is pronominalized, the result will be a dislocated sentence; if it is deleted, on the other hand, the result will be a topicalized sentence. Thus, I propose that, in addition to the NP-Copy rule, there is the following NP-Deletion rule in French:

(28) NP-deletion (Dialect S):

(NP# (X, NP) $\longrightarrow$ (NP# (X))

Now the formal similarity of NP-Copy (26) with Negative-Copy (16), and of NP-Deletion (28) with Negative-Deletion (17) and Ne-Deletion (18) is obvious. Furthermore, the parallel use of copy and deletion rules affecting NPs and NEGs is distributed in exactly the same way in the two dialects of French under consideration. Dialect S has a Negative-Copy rule and a NP-Copy rule, but also a Negative-Deletion and a NP-Deletion rule. This reflects Dialect S's use of Topicalization and of a single negative element in complex sentences. Dialect C, on the contrary, has only the copy-rules (Negative-Copy and NP-Copy), which results into the extensive use of

Dislocation and the occurrence of multiple negation in complex sentences. Moreover, it appears that the two minor rules Ne-Insertion and Ne-Deletion fit into this pattern (as announced in fn 10), with the same type of dialect distribution, Ne-Insertion and Ne-Deletion occurring in Dialect S, but only Ne-Insertion in Dialect C. It is now clear that the deletion rules which have been shown to exist in Dialect S only—namely Negative-Deletion, Ne-Deletion and NP-Deletion—can be subsumed under the General Deletion process formulated in (20).

3.2. The same copy-deletion process may refer to an S, instead of a NEG or a NP, with the same dialect distribution as noticed above, e.g. copy-deletion in Dialect S, but copy only in Dialect C. This is shown in the sentences derived from (30):

(30)–Je ne crois pas qu'il achète un authentique Picasso.
(I don't think he'll buy a genuine Picasso.)

S (30a)–Qu'il achète un authentique Picasso, je ne crois pas!

C (30b)–Je le crois pas, qu'il achète un authentique Picasso.

C (30c)–Lui, acheter un authentique Picasso, je le crois pas!

C (30d)–Lui, acheter un authentique Picasso, ça, je le crois pas.

In (30a), the whole embedded S "qu'il achète un authentique Picasso" is topicalized, i.e. according to my analysis copied to the left and its original deleted. But no such deletion takes place in Dialect C, as illustrated in (30b), (30c), (30d). Le is the pronominalized version of the original S. An additional copy even appears in (30d) as ça. And it will appear that this is not an isolated case, but a typical manifestation of the tendency already noticed in Dialect C to multiply copies, which do not delete.

3.3. Further evidence involving the clitcs en and y confirms the claim that Dialect C tends not to have deletion rules. EN and Y are pronominalized copies of NP complements of another NP, and are therefore manifestations of the NP Copy rule which I claim to be the feature that Dislocation and Topicalization have in common. En is a copy of the sequence de+NP, whereas Y is the copy of the sequence à+NP or dans+NP.[11] As is the case for other pronouns, EN and Y are then moved before the verb, but the relevant characteristic of this process is that the original [Preposition +NP] sequence of EN or Y is deleted in Dialect S, but not in Dialect C, thus reflecting the wider distinction between the two dialects regarding deletion rules.

(31) –Je connais la fin de cette histoire.
(I know the end of this story.)

S (31a)–J'en connais la fin.

C (31b)–J'en connais la fin, de cette histoire.

C (31c)–Cette histoire, j'en connais la fin.

S (31d)–De cette histoire, je connais la fin.

(31c) of Dialect C appears to be a dislocated sentence, involving the application of NP-Copy. In this case, the preposition de is 'absorbed' by the clitic en. In Dialect S, (31d) is a topicalized sentence, following the application of NP-Copy and NP-Deletion; but then the en-rule cannot apply, since the original NP has been deleted, and the preposition appears in its regular position, copied with its NP.

The same may be noticed when Y is involved:

(32) –Je suis allée dans mon jardin.
(I went to my garden.)

S (32a)–J'y suis allée.

C (32b)–J'y suis allée, dans mon jardin.

S (32c)–"Dans mon jardin, j'ai descendu.." (well-known song)

3.4. Another rule may be mentioned, in connection with the claims that I am making: Equi-NP deletion (henceforth Equi). In French, as in English, there is a class of verbs which take Equi optionally. Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1968) claim that the application or non-application of this rule is determined by the semantic properties of these verbs. In French, certain verbs must take Equi (vouloir 'to want'; pourvoir 'can'; essayer 'to try'), others must not take Equi in any case (trouver 'to consider'; assumer 'to assume'..). Finally a third class of verbs may or may not take Equi, and the application of Equi in this case is mostly determined by the dialect concerned: in Dialect S, Equi will apply, in Dialect C, it will tend not to apply. Some of the verbs that belong in this class are: croire 'to believe'; savoir 'to know'; voir 'to see'; penser 'to think', as illustrated in the following sentences:

S (33a)–Je crois le voir.
C (33b)–Je crois que je le vois.
(I believe that I can see him)

S (34a)–Je pense en être capable.
C (34b)–Je pense que j'en suis capable.
(I think that I am able to do it)

S (35a)–Il sait pouvoir le faire.
C (35b)–Il sait qu'il peut le faire.
(He knows that he can do it.)

The same observation that was made with respect to the deletions of NEG, NP, S, obtains here again: Equi, which deletes the identical NP of an embedded S, to derive the sentences of Dialect S, does not apply with 'optional Equi verbs' in Dialect C. I suggest the following formulation for Equi:

(36) Equi-NP deletion (in Dialect S)
(X, NP (Y, NP)) ⟶ (X, NP (Y))

This rule is a special case of the general deletion rule (20); therefore, as was the case with Negative-deletion, Ne-deletion, and NP-deletion—respectively (17), (18) and (28)—this rule need not be stated in a grammar of French.

3.5. Dialect C, which fails to have most deletion rules, multiplies copies of particles, pronouns, NPs simplex or complex, and also shows a proliferation of cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences like the following:

C (37) Ce que je désire plus que tout, c'est attraper la lune.
(What I desire most of all, is to catch the moon.)

C (38) Ça, C'est justement ce que je t'ai dit que je voulais.
(This is exactly what I told you I wanted.)

Substandard varieties of Dialect C show this same tendency with respect to relative pronouns: if the relative pronoun follows a preposition it may be duplicated. Compare the following sentences:

S (39a)-La fille à qui j'ai parlé est sympathique.

C (39b)-La fille à qui que j'ai parlé est vachement sympa.
(The girl I talked to is nice.)

It is very likely that such a sentence as (39b)—which is substandard—will also be a dislocated sentence.

C (39c)-La fille a qui que j'ai parlé, elle est vachement sympa.

/C (39d)-Elle est vachement sympa, la fille a qui que j'ai parlé.

It is interesting to note that in (39c), four constituents refer to the same NP, namely la fille 'the girl': à qui, que, elle, a flagrant instance of the copying tendency manifested by Dialect C.

Considering a spectrum of varying dialects, it seems that the closer to the subordinate group, i.e. to those speakers who control only the colloquial dialect, the more generally would deletion of identical constituents be excluded from the grammar. At the other end of the spectrum i.e. within the superordinate population, it seems that the grammar would obligatorily

include a general deletion rule, independent of any copy-rule. This tentative conclusion seems to confirm the general assumption that languages evolve toward simplification. A colloquial dialect includes fewer rules. And the addition of a step required by the deletion under identity may possibly be considered as an unnecessary device in the grammar.

4. In this paper, I have claimed that the variation of negation in two dialects of French may well reflect a more general mechanism with respect to rules involving deletion under identity. I have shown that, with respect to negation, the colloquial dialect is simpler in that it does not include three processes that are present in the standard dialect. These three processes are: Ne-insertion, Negative-deletion (under identity) and Ne-deletion (under identity). Both dialects, however, share Negative-attraction and Negative-copy.

I then showed that the absence of Negative-deletion and Ne-deletion from the colloquial dialect is not an accident, but rather an instance of a general tendency of the colloquial dialect to omit rules referring to deletion under identity. Empirical justification was provided by showing that several rules, i.e. NP-Deletion, Equi-NP-deletion, as well as Negative-deletion and Ne-deletion can be subsumed under a general formulation of deletion under identity (rule 20). These deletion rules tend to fail to apply—or to apply infrequently—in the colloquial dialect, but they are prolific in the standard dialect.

From the evidence given here in support of the claim that dialects can differ in terms of deletion rules, some interesting questions may be raised, for which I propose no answer yet.

If it is true, as stated by Labov (1971) that "the vernacular shows the most advanced forms in the course of new change in progress", then by observing that in French the colloquial dialects lack several rules that are present in the standard dialect, a possible prediction would be that some languages, at least French, change by removing deletion rules from the grammar—with the consequence of allowing a greater amount of redundancy at the innovative stage. Why should this happen? If spoken dialects are representative of the innovative stage, then a greater amount of redundancy may be necessary to facilitate understanding and parsing.
These are possible directions toward a prediction of language change, and I will leave the question open to further research.

FOOTNOTES

[1]A shorter version of this paper was presented at the Twenty-Seventh Foreign Language Conference, University of Kentucky, Lexington, April 26, 1974. I have benefitted greatly from discussing this paper with Andreas Koutsoudas and Linda Norman. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for whatever error may be found herein.

[2]What Baker (1969) calls 'logical double negatives', i.e. negative sentences like the following in which the two negatives 'cancel out', are not dealt with in this paper:

Il n'y a personne ici qui ne préférerait pas être ailleurs.
(There isn't anyone here who wouldn't rather be somewhere else.)

[3]Bolinger, as quoted by G. Lakoff (1970, p. 158), suggests that the movement of NEG away from the verb it negates represents uncertainty and therefore, that sentences like (a)-(b) are not synonymous:

(a)-I think Bill didn't leave.

(b)-I don't think Bill left.

(in b-the speaker would be somewhat uncertain.)

In French, this semantic distinction may at first appear to be supported by the fact that the verb of the embedded sentence must be in the subjunctive (in the standard dialect only) whenever NEG is in the matrix sentence.—and the subjunctive is usually associated with uncertainty.

(c)-Je crois que Bill ne viendra pas. (viendra-indicative.)
(I think that Bill won't come.)
(d) Je ne crois pas que Bill vienne. (vienne-subjunctive.)
(I don't think Bill will come.)

Sentences like (c)-(d) are, however, synonymous in French.

Furthermore, it is to be noted that the subjunctive is also used when there is clearly no uncertainty such as in sentence (f) below:

(e)-Je doute qu'il soit capable de finir à temps.
(I doubt he will be able to finish in time.)
(f)-Je ne doute pas qu'il soit capable de terminer à temps.
(I don't doubt that he will be able to finish in time.)

In both (e)- and (f)- the subjunctive 'soit' has been used. And yet only (e)- expresses uncertainty. (f)- expresses total certainty. This observation suggests that the subjunctive test is not conclusive, and that Bolinger's assumption may not hold for French.

But if the raising of NEG from the embedded sentence to the upper sentence turns out not to be meaning-preserving, then it might be necessary to allow NEG to be generated either in the lower sentence, or in the upper sentence.

Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1968) claim that the rule raising NEG does not occur with factive verbs which imply certainty. However, this argument is not as convincing in French as it is in English: A larger class of verbs in French seems to allow NEG to be raised without change of meaning. Compare in English the verbs desire, hope which have no NEG-raising (they are factive), and those same verbs in French which do allow NEG-raising:

Je { désire / souhaite } qu'elle n'ait pas le moindre doute à ce sujet.

Je { ne désire pas / ne souhaite pas } qu'elle ait le moindre doute-...

(I presuppose that she hasn't the least doubt, and hope -and wish- that it is so.)

[4]According to Ewert (1938, p. 260), and others, ne, was derived from Latin non, and was the only negative elemnt in Old French, as in O.F. Je ne viens: 'I'm not coming.' This fact left some overt trace in Modern French as in:

On ne voit âme qui vive.
(There isn't a soul around here.)

It is only later that pas, a noun meaning 'a pace', came into the language as a reinforcement for negation. Around the 15th century pas had been recognized as the normal negative particle. Gradually pas lost its original meaning, and was invested with a full negative meaning. Ne, being never stressed, became a mere proclitic liable to be omitted. It seems that in Modern French a restructuring of the underlying structure must have taken place, on the basis of the fact that ne is non-existent in the speech of those speakers who control only the colloquial dialect.

[5]The occurrence of ne in an overt affirmative sentence can be explained if we are willing to accept the interpretation that such verbs as craindre, avoir peur actually contain a NEG in underlying structure, e.g. that craindre is underlyingly: Préférer...pas.

Thus, the underlying sentence corresponding to (10a) would be (9'):

(9') Je préfère qu'il vienne pas.
(I prefer that he does not come.)

Ne would then be inserted by rule in the sentence containing NEG to yield (9''):

(9'') Je préfère qu'il ne vienne pas.

Finally Lexical Insertion would realize préférer...pas as craindre or avoir peur, thus deriving (10a). This type of Lexical Insertion is optional: (9'') is a perfectly good sentence in Dialect S and (9') is a good sentence in Dialect C.

Similarly, 'expletive ne' accompanying the conjunctions à moins que, and avant que can be derived by Lexical Insertion, after Ne-insertion, from an underlying structure of the type si...NEG.

a-Je sortirai s'il ne pleut pas. (I will go out if it doesn't rain.)

b-Je sortirai à moins qu'il ne pleuve. (....unless it rains)

[6]The attachment of NEG seems to provide some support for the necessity of an unordered base. Notice that the first expansion of Negative-Attraction accounts for the distribution of NEG in a sentence containing indefinites. If the constituents are ordered in the base and if we want to account for sentences like (2), (3) and (4) by a unified process, irrespective of whether there is one or two indefinites, subject or object, the only resort is a mirror-image rule. But a mirror-image rule cannot derive all correct outputs in French. For example, a mirror-image rule like:

$$X - V - \text{Indef}-Y-\text{NEG} \Longrightarrow X-V-\text{Indef}+\text{NEG}-Y$$

actually stands for the two subrules:

(i) $X-V-\text{Indef}-Y-\text{NEG} \longrightarrow X-V-\text{Indef}+\text{NEG}-Y$

(ii) $\text{NEG}-Y-\text{Indef}-V-X \Longrightarrow Y-\text{NEG}+\text{Indef}-V-X$

No P-Marker can meet (ii) unless NEG has been moved by some independent rule from its original position in the underlying structure; there seems to be no such rule in French.

An unordered base has the advantage of not having to cope with this embarrassing problem.

[7]Since a universal principle predicts the application of the two subrules A and B in one of those specific instances where rule ordering is necessary, an unordered rule hypothesis is possible here, whereby the correct order of application of rules is determined only by universal principles (Koutsoudas, Sanders and Noll, 1974).

[8]The similarity of (A) and (B) is too obvious not to suggest that they are one and the same rule. If such a rule can be written, a precedence constraint like the following would be needed:

> If a sentence contains a quantifier the Negative is attached to it; otherwise, NEG is attached to the verb.

However, a formal statement of this rule will have to cope with the following problem: suppose (a) is the rule, and (b)-(c) is the precedence constraint:

(a) $(X, V, Y, \text{NEG})_S \longrightarrow (X, V\ (Y,\text{NEG}))_S$

(b) If Y is a quantifier, then NEG is grouped with Y: (Y,NEG)

(c) If Y is not a quantifier, then NEG is grouped with V: (V,NEG)

The problem is a bracketing problem in that rule (a) cannot satisfy condition (c). However no such question arises when Negative-Attraction is formulated as two subrules obeying the Proper Inclusion Precedence Principle.

[9]McCawley (1968) discusses the point at which lexical insertions would take place. He rules out two possibilities, namely lexical insertion at the end, or at the beginning of the grammar. He shows that there are prelexical transformations which apply to trees that terminate in semantic material rather than in lexical material: it seems correct to say that Ne-Insertion and Negative-Attraction belong to this type of prelexical transformation. Furthermore, as far as embedded sentences are concerned, lexical insertion must apply after all cyclic applications of Ne-Insertion (assuming that Ne-Insertion and Negative-Attraction are cyclic). McCawley leaves the question open for other interesting possibilities. One clear possibility—all lexical insertions would take place after the cyclic rules, but before the postcyclic rules—is consistent with my analysis, and therefore I am adopting it here.

[10]An alternative to having a rule of Ne-Deletion would be to assume that Ne-Insertion is a postcyclic rule, therefore applying after Negative-Copy and Negative-Deletion. Since only one NEG remains in the sentences of Dialect S after the application of all cyclic rules, Ne would be inserted only once by the putative postcyclic rule. I know of no independent evidence that supports this alternative.

[11]This rule has the peculiarity of applying to complements of deep objects and of derived subjects, but never to deep subjects:

La fin de l'histoire me plaît.
(The end of the story pleases me.)

NOT *La fin m'en plaît. (deep subject)

Les touristes ne découvrent pas les secrets de l'île.
(Tourists don't find out the secrets of the island.)

OK Les touristes n'en découvrent pas les secrets. (deep object)

OK Les secrets n'en sont pas découverts par les touristes.
(derived subject)

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